

# SABIN & SONS' AMERICAN BIBLIOPOLIST.

A Literary Register and Monthly Catalogue of Old and New Books,  
and Repository of Notes and Queries.

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The AMERICAN BIBLIOPOLIST for 1870 has wound its slow length along. Various causes have conducted to its irregularity; with the new year, however, we hope to start on a basis of greater regularity. The want of punctuality, we are well aware, has somewhat impaired its usefulness, and, whilst apologizing for unavoidable delays in the past, we express our intention of amendment. Many of our subscribers are book-buyers, and it has been suggested that the BIBLIOPOLIST should be sent free to our supporters; but we venture to suggest that the BIBLIOPOLIST is more than a catalogue. The quality of paper, the cost of illustrations as occasionally furnished, lists of new books, and editing, which, however modestly estimated, is a matter of no inconsiderable importance as a time-taking matter,—all these, and other considerations, render it much more than a catalogue, and the charge of one dollar is not in our estimation, too extravagant, and we trust the good-nature of subscribers and book buyers to think with us.

REMIT FOR 1871.—*Subscribers who desire a continuance of the BIBLIOPOLIST, will kindly favor us by remitting one dollar.*

BACK NUMBERS.—J. SABIN & SONS have on hand a few copies of the BIBLIOPOLIST for 1870, which they will sell for \$1.25, or bound in cloth, \$1.75.

We have frequently received complaints regarding the non receipt of numbers which we have regularly mailed. So far as we can, we shall be happy to assist subscribers, wishing to complete their sets, who through carelessness of ours or of the post office officials have not received all their numbers.

## AUCTION SALES.

## MR. RICHARD GRANT WHITE'S LIBRARY.

The Catalogue commences with an extract from Wynne's "Private Libraries of New York," descriptive of the Library; but for the number of "it's" \* in it we should suppose Mr. White had himself written the article, for Wynne had but little knowledge of books.

The Catalogue is singular in this respect—it enumerates all of Mr. White's books, but certain of them, which are indicated by a star (\*) were not sold. This circumstance caused much annoyance to the buyers, for in many instances the stars were attached to the most desirable books. The arrangement in classes was subject to the objection which all such arrangements entail. No arrangement can be suggested which will meet the views of all readers, and the searcher is often compelled to turn over his catalogue under many divisions before he finds the needed book.

The collection includes many rare books, more, indeed, than any other sale, that has occurred during this or the past year, and, in general, they sold for moderate, indeed, many of them, for low prices.

We note the following among the more important books:

LOT 157. *Advis Fidele.* \$2.75  
Curious and interesting.

LOT 177. *Bale's Actes; or Unchaste Examples.* \$12.50

\* One of which is ungrammatically placed.

LOT 199. <i>BURNETT'S Reformation and History of his own Time.</i>	\$30.00
The note is probably an error, as an edition so illustrated, was issued by the publisher.	
LOT 261. <i>FROISSART'S Chroniques de France.</i>	
1518.	\$51.00
LOT 285. <i>HALLE'S Chronicle,</i> first edition.	\$30.00
A low price when the rarity of the book is considered.	
LOT 314. <i>HOLINSHED'S Chronicles.</i>	\$30.00
Even cheaper than the preceding.	
LOT 338. <i>CASAS' Indes Occidentales.</i>	\$6.00
This should have been placed under "America" in a classed catalogue.	
LOT 344. <i>Le Livre Rouge.</i> Paris. 1790.	\$15.00
The well expressed note to this work may be applied to some late revelations of the French Court.	
LOT 349. <i>The Present State of London,</i> 1681.	\$1.62
LOT 527. <i>Daphnis et Chloe,</i> 1718.	\$10.00
LOT 567. <i>Don Quixote,</i> 1605, First edition.	\$7.50
LOT 613. <i>Gesta Romanorum.</i>	\$12.50
LOT 627. <i>The Heptameron.</i>	\$55.50
LOT 655. <i>LYLY, J., Euphues.</i>	\$4.50
LOT 662. <i>Marguerite de Valois,</i> 1798,	\$11.00
LOT 672-b. <i>Morte D' Arthur,</i> 2 vols, 1817	\$17.00
LOT 682. <i>RABELAIS,</i> 3 vols, 1547.	\$15.00
LOT 733. <i>Seroux d' Agincourt,</i> 3 vols, folio.	\$63.00
LOT 794. <i>Chronicon Nurembergense,</i> 1493.	\$31.00
LOT 894. <i>Imitations of Drawings by HORBEIN.</i>	\$55.00
LOT 1033. <i>PUGIN'S Details of Timber Houses, and other Works.</i>	\$40.00

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LOT 1061. SHAW'S Dresses and Decorations.		
		\$55.00
LOT 1140. Armen, the Italian Taylor, and his Boy.		\$1.25
This was a reprint catalogued as original.		
LOT 1240. DANIEL. Poetical Essays.		
		\$50.00
One of the rarest and finest books in the sale.		
LOT 1260. D(ONNE,) J(OHN). Poems, First edition.		\$2.75
LOT 1274. DURFEY'S Pills to Cure Melancholy.		\$39.00
LOT 1353. Honour's Academie, 1610.	\$4.50	
LOT 1363. HORACE. Edited by MILMAN,		\$20.00
LOT 1384. LA FONTAINE. Contes.		
Amsterdam, 1685.	\$21.00	
LOT 1391. PIERS' Ploughman, 1813,	\$21.00	
LOT 1431. MILTON'S Paradise Lost, First edition, 1569.		\$26.00
LOT 1433. MILTON'S Poems, First Collected edition,		\$10.00
LOT 1529. ROGER'S Italy, First edition,		\$25.50
LOT 1529-b. ROGER'S Poems, First edition,		\$25.50
LOT 1571. SPENSER'S Farie Queene, First complete Edition, 1609.		\$29.00
LOT 1613. VOLTAIRE'S La Pucelle,	1789,	
		\$20.00
LOT 1669. BELL'S Theatre, large paper,		\$31.25
LOT 1716. Dramatic Characters.		\$15.00
LOT 1790. MIDDLETON by Dyce.		
London, 1840.	\$30.00	
LOT 1792. MOLIERE, 5 vols, Amsterdam,		
1674-5.	\$50.00	
LOT 1794-6. Moralite, 3 vols,		\$30.00
The department of Shakespeariana was large, but most of the rare and desirable books were starred, and therefore not sold. Many, indeed, in this and other departments of the catalogue which were not starred, were also withdrawn from the sale.		
LOT 1971. BOADEN'S Inquiry, 4to.		\$27.50
LOT 2131. WHITE, R. G. Henry VI,		\$6.00
LOT 2148. HASLEWOOD'S Ancient Critical Essays,		\$45.00
LOT 2152. ASCHAM'S Schole Master, 1571.		\$22.00
LOT 2274. FLORI'S Proverbs.		\$10.00
LOT 2286. GERBIER'S Academie for Forraine Languages.		\$3.00
LOT 2360. MERES' Witt's Academie.		\$5.00
LOT 2436. ROUX, Dictionnaire Comique.		\$10.50
LOT 2507. WITHAL'S Shorte Dictionnaire.		
1568.		\$10.00
LOT 2526. BRYDGE'S British Bibliographer,		\$28.00
LOT 2527. BRYDGE'S Restituta,		\$12.50
LOT 2538. CLARKE, Repertorium Bibliographicum, large paper.		\$21.00
The collection of works on Woman was large, they sold cheap. Many of the unstarred "Women" were also "out."		
LOT 2733. Book of St. Albans,		\$52.50
LOT 2848. ERASMUS' Praise of Folie, 1549.		\$7.50
LOT 3114. PETRARCH. Phisiche against Fortune.		\$6.00
LOT 3138. Recueil Générale des Caquet de l'Accouchéé, Paris, 1624.		\$20.00
A rare book and a characteristic copy.		
LOT 3166. SENECA, 1475.		\$45.00
One of the oldest and finest books in the catalogue. Mr. White has added a well written note which has the additional merit of truth, which is more than we can say of many notes we find in auction catalogues.		
In our next we shall give some account of the sale of Captain Hervey's Library.		



## BOOK-BINDING.

### CONCLUDED.



THE History of book-binding in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries must be looked for, and eliminated from, the archives, accounts and inventories of Kings, Princes, and Royal Officers. The magnificent libraries of the Dukes of Burgundy and Orleans, now partly destroyed and scattered among the public collections of various countries, were rich in specimens of costly binding. As a specimen of a binding of the fifteenth century, we present a fac-simile of an engraved and stamped binding, in an unknown material, representing the mystical Chase of the Unicorn, the animal taking refuge in the lap of the Virgin. The original is in the Public Library of Rouen.

The old style of thick, heavy and, in some sort, armour-plated binding, could not exist long after the invention of printing, which while multiplying books, reduced their size, and gave them a less intrinsic value. Wooden boards were replaced by compressed cardboard; nails and clasps were gradually laid aside, and stuffs of different kinds no longer employed, only skin, leather, and parchment were used. This was the beginning of modern book-binding, but book-binders were as yet but mechanics, working for the booksellers, who when they had on their premises a book-binding room, assumed in their editions the double title of bookseller-bookbinder. In 1578, Nicholas Eve, still placed on his books and his sign-board, "Bookseller to the University of Paris and Bookbinder to the King." No volume was sold unbound.

The Arabs had, for a long time, known the art of dressing, dyeing, stamping, and gilding the skins which they used to make covers for books; and the Crusades, which introduced into Europe many luxurious customs, must have exerted considerable influence upon the art of binding. The covers of the books of the Arabs took the name of Alæ (wings) probably from a resemblance in beautiful colors to the wings of a bird of rich plumage. European workmen could not fail to take hints from the specimens of Oriental binding which the crusaders brought back from their expeditions. A revolution which had taken place in the formation of royal and princely libraries, had its correlative influence upon binding. Bibles and missals, and reproductions of ancient authors, and treatises on theology, no longer formed the only books.

A new language had given rise to histories, romances, and poems, forming the delight of a society becoming more and more polished every day. For the pleasure of readers, the gallant of one sex and the fair of the other, books were required more agreeable to the eye, and less rough to the touch than those used for the edification of monks and the instruction of scholars. The creations of fancy needed a softer and more refined binding than the hard and metallic coverings of dry theology. The cumbrous folios were changed to sizes more convenient for the courtly reader. Fine and smooth vellum was used for writing, and books

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were covered in velvet, silk, or woolen stuffs. Paper, a recent invention, opened up a new era for libraries, though two centuries were to elapse before pasteboard had entirely taken the place of wooden covers.

From the end of the fifteenth century, although book-binding was always considered as an adjunct to the bookseller's shop, certain amateurs who had a taste for art, required richer and more recherché exteriors for their books. Italy set the example in beautiful bindings in morocco, stamped and gilt, imitated, however, from those of the Koran, and other Arabian manuscripts, which Venetian navigators frequently brought back with them from the East. The expedition of Charles VIII., and the wars of Louis XII., introduced into France, not only Italian bindings, but Italian binders also.

Without renouncing, however, at least for the *Livre d'heures*, the bindings ornamented with goldsmiths' work and gems, France had very soon binders of her own, surpassing those who had been to them as initiators or masters. Jean Grolier, of Lyons, loved books too much not to wish to give them an exterior ornamentation worthy of the wealth of knowledge they contained.

Treasurer of War, and Intendant of the Milanese, before the battle of Pavia, he had begun to create a library which he subsequently transported to France, and did not cease to enlarge and enrich till his death, which occurred in 1565. His books were bound in morocco from the Levant, and it is probable that this period inaugurated and, we might say, perfected the application of morocco as a binding. Such care and taste were displayed under the supervision of this cultivated and exacting amateur, that book-binding at this time rose to the height of perfection. His binders were constrained to be careful, for it is remarked that the Grolier-bound books rejoice in an ample margin. His ornamentation was generally in the best taste—simple, elegant, and flowing. The superiority and tastefulness of his design, no doubt created numerous imitators, and now the Grolier pattern, well imitated by a modern binder, is something which an amateur deems himself fortunate in possessing.

One of the immediate followers of Grolier, and one of much celebrity, was Maioli. Specimens of his bindings are eagerly sought for by the cognoscenti. Indeed, fabulous sums have been expended for the sake of securing original specimens of a Grolier or Maioli binding, though the book bound may have been in itself but of moderate value. Olive and brown appear to have been the favorite colors of Grolier. Many of the patterns of this noble bibliophile were formed by inlaying leather of different colors.

Both Maioli and Grolier must have been good-natured bibliomaniacs, for their bindings are inscribed with their names, “et Amicorum,” seeming to indicate that the books were not solely for their selfish delectation and amusement. No doubt such a privilege was envied the fortunate friends;—lending libraries for the general public being then little imagined.

Princes and ladies of the courts prided themselves on their loved books, and the desire to acquire them; they founded libraries, and encouraged the work of good book-binders, who produced masterpieces of patience and ability, in decorating the covers of books, either with enamelled paintings, or with mosaics made of different pieces inlaid, or with plain gildings, stamped on the surface with small irons. The sixteenth century produced the most splendid binding in all styles, and the French book-binders of that period have never been surpassed, or even equalled. The painter, the engraver, and even the goldsmith, co-operated with the book-binder by furnishing him designs for his ornaments. The designs in fashion at the beginning of the sixteenth century were often drawn by distinguished artists, such as Jean Cousin, Stephen de Laulne, etc. Nearly all the French Kings, and more especially the Valois, were passionately fond of splendid bindings. Catherine de Medicis was such a connoisseur, that authors who presented her with copies of their works, sought to make their presents eminent by the beauty of the binding, made especially for her. Henry III., who appreciated handsomely bound books no less than his mother, invented a very singular binding, when he instituted the order of “Penitents.” This consisted of death's heads and crossbones, tears, crosses, and other instruments of the Passion, gilt or stamped on black morocco, and having the following device, “Spes mea Deus” (“God is my hope”), with or without the arms of France.

Diana of Poictiers,\* the famous mistress of Henry II. was contemporay with Grolier. She indulged a fondness for fine books and bindings. Her bindings rank among the most beautiful,—they were no doubt designed by Petit Bernard the artist who made drawings for her jewelry. Her chief ornaments were in conformity with her name,—the bow, the quiver the arrow and the crescent. These, with the initial D, repeated and incorporated with the initial letter H, of her royal paramour generally adorn the sides of her books. This same ornament or monogram, she had inscribed on all the furniture in her dwelling.

In the Reign of Henry VIII about 1538, Grafton undertook to print the **GREAT BIBLE**. Not finding types and men enough in England, he went to Paris to commence the work. He was soon stopped there, for working on such an heretical book, and he then brought back to England the printers, binders, types and presses, and finished the book in 1539. The edition was 2,500 copies. One was set up in every church in England. The book passing through seven editions must have made thousands of folio volumes; the binding of which certainly gave the Art some importance in England, even at that early date. Henry the VIII. possessed many splendid volumes bound in velvet, with gold bosses and ornaments. In his reign, too, the stamping of tools in gold appears to have been first introduced in England; and beautiful rolls, probably of Holbein's design, were used on the sides as well as on the gilded edges of books still in existence.

In the reign of Elizabeth some exquisite bindings were done in embroidery. The Queen herself used to work covers with gold and silver thread, spangles, and colored silk for bibles and other devotional works, which she presented to her maids of honor, and her friends.

To proceed to French binders, De Thou, President of the Parliament of Paris next invites our attention.

De Thou\* was extremely particular in the choice of his books; especially in regard to their size. His library consisted of the rarest and most curious books, sought and purchased regardless of expense. (The library has been dispersed.) The favorite binding of De Thou was red morocco. His bindings were not covered with the same species of arabesque ornament employed by Grolier. His coat of arms generally appears in the centre of the side.

Padaloup, L'Abbe du Sueil and De Rome are binders of eminence who prominently succeeded De Thou. Padaloup was fond of red morocco outsides and insides, with a fillet

\*<sup>4</sup> Diana was forty when she was the professed mistress of Henry II. that monarch being at the time only eighteen years of age; she ruled him for 20 years with entire ascendancy, but it has been urged that although on the one hand, Henry lost, in the society of his accomplished mistress, that violence and even brutality of disposition, for which he was distinguished, yet on the other he contracted a love of expense of show and extravagance which deranged his finances and shook the credit of his government. There is one piece of extravagance of which she was probably guilty and from which the most virtuous bibliomaniac will readily grant her absolution. It is the suggestion, (I verily believe it came from her,) of having one copy of every book, to which the royal privilege was extended printed upon vellum and handsomely bound, to be deposited in the royal library. This Edict was issued by Henry in 1556, but Diana was assuredly at the bottom of it. In 1552 Henry employed Philibert de Lorme, to build the famous chateau d'Anet for his mistress. There are several birdseye views of this building in the *Plus Excellens Bastimens de France*, of Androuet 1576 folio, and Lenoir, in his *Monumens Francais*, has exhibited specimens of some of the furniture of the Castle to which said Castle, on the death of Henry in 1559, our Diana of Bibliomaniacs wholly retired till her death in 1566. *Dibdin.*

\*His early life was sickly and the care of his health was the chief occupation of his attendants up to his tenth year. It is said his chief amusement during his youthful illness was the exercise of his pencil in illuminating precious little scraps of old vellum MSS. He was brought up to the church under his uncle, in the cloisters of Notre Dame. Here he "began to lay the foundation of his library, which, in the end, was so vast and celebrated."

\* In 1593 De Thou succeeded Amyot to the principal Librarianship of the Royal Collection, and had been scarcely seated two years in the velvet chair of presidentship, when he was accessory to the restitution of the famous manuscript *Bible of Charles the Bald*, which the rogues of 'religious,' at the Abbey of St. Denis, were about to dispose of for filthy lucre. De Thou had purveyors in all countries to secure large paper or fine paper copies. Yet Marville goes farther; he not only says that 'when any work was printed at Paris or abroad, he took care to secure two or three copies upon fine or large paper, expressly for himself and at his own expense—but that he usually purchased several copies, from which he selected the most beautiful sheets and from them, composed one super-eminent copy.'

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or border of gold upon each. His fly-leaf was frequently of gold. His ornaments consisted chiefly of small dots, and his elegant forms when found in good order, look like gold lace upon the sides and back of the book. De Sueil resembles him somewhat, though his style is bolder. He was fond of a variety of colors upon his morocco covers.

Regarding De Rome Dibbin says: "I frankly confess that a 'rod has been preserved in pickle' within three feet of my writing desk for the last three years. De Rome was like his predecessors of the 18th Century, a GREAT CROPPER; for cropping was the 'watchword and reply' of the French School of binding." The Doctor seems to have had his bibliomaniacal ire aroused by some of the solidly gilded edges of this artist. De Rome's execution is very exact—the boards are square and the workmanship is true. His decorated patterns of the Louis QUATORZE style with elegant dentelle borders are considered very fine.

In England, since the beginning of the Eighteenth Century, binding advanced to a high pitch of excellence in mechanical skill, yet the standard of ornament was not of a very high character. Roger Payne\* was the first Englishman who produced a really good binding, and for the time in which he lived, the ornament on his books was very praiseworthy; some of his best works, such as French romances, were powdered with fleur de lis. His books on chivalry had suitable devices, such as helmets, spurs, gauntlets, and the like; and on poetical works he used a simple lyre. He did all with his own hands, from the folding, beating, sewing, cutting, mending, headbanding, coloring his end-papers, to the making of his own tools and letters. His ornaments were the boast of his binding. They were chaste, beautiful, and most correctly executed; and his side-covers were the field in which he shone most conspicuously. The backs of his books were somewhat irregular and clumsy.

He was an extremely dissipated man. With his genius, a proper attention to business, would have rendered him happy and prosperous; but he was so fond of guzzling, that he seemed to prefer garments all tattered and torn, to go slip-shod, and appear dirty, ragged and forsaken, than to give up his "ale, the true liquor of life." His appearance bespoke squalid wretchedness, or a foolish and fierce indifference to the received opinions of mankind. His hair was unkempt; his visage elongated; his attire wretched; and the interior of his workshop—where, like the Turk, he would bear no brother near his throne, harmonized but too justly with the general character and appearance of its owner. With the greatest possible display of humility in speech and in writing, he united quite the spirit of quixotic independence.

Roger, proud of his talents and regardless of his dress, at one time thrust himself upon the Countess Spencer when she was dressing for court, very much to the consternation of her hair-dresser. Such a compound—such a motley union was never probably before concentrated in one individual.

Earl Spencer became a patron of Payne, and many of his finest productions ornamented the shelves of the Spencerian library.

Sobriety seems to be as good 'policy' as 'honesty'; for, from the lack of that virtue, poor Roger soon grew ragged and wretched, and such was the state of his penury, that he was often obliged to make his own tools—and those of iron! Yet is this fact probably the greatest compliment to his genius; for, in despite of such tools, he occasionally 'turned out' work which astonished the uninitiated and of which the Beauclerks, Cracherodes, and Stanleys of the day were absolutely enamored.

\*At the mention of this magical name, in the Annals of Bibliopegism, uprise also the spirit and heart's blood of the Bibliomaniac, \* \* \* Roger betook himself to Eton when he grew to man's estate, later he was drawn to London. There he was established in business by the aid of a bookseller, \* \* At what precise period Roger's love of "Barley broth," in preference to 'sack' began to evince itself, has not been thoroughly ascertained; but the fact has been too unequivocally substantiated that instead of laying by money for 'chariot or coach' our Roger betrothed himself only of the said barley broth. Like Falstaff our bibliopegistic knight preferred his drink to his meat. Mr. Payne, the worthy Bibliopolist, and Son of the Protector of Roger, hath a 'pleasante conceited jest' hereupon. He rememb'rreth well a memorandum of 'monies spent' of our Roger, which was endited after the following fashion.

For Bacon..... 1 halfpenny.

For Liquor..... 1 shilling!!!

The French did not, after the age of Louis XIV, keep up their reputation as the most tasteful binders. Even the books bound for the Emperor Napoleon I, are said to be coarse in tooling and clumsy in execution. Later the art has been revived, and Thouvenin formed the foundation of an improvement which has raised the art in France to a high pitch of perfection. The most Celebrated French binders of modern times, are Trautz et Bauzonet Capé, Duru, Lortic, Hardy Mennil, David; some of whom are living, and others having successors now in Paris. Most of their bindings are excellent in qualities of solidity, squareness, freedom of joints, and delicacy of finish. The gilding of the rounded edges adds to the solid richness of their appearance. The material employed and manipulated to such perfection being generally rich Levant Morocco.

Bauzonet is highly praised for his perfect finishing and the faultless execution of the tooling of his designs, which are generally modified Grolier patterns.

Baumgarten and Benedict, Germans,—and Dawson, of Cambridge, were binders of eminence in England, in the eighteenth century. To these succeeded Mackinlay, Kalthoeber, Staggemeier, Walther, and Hering. Charles Hering was, after Roger Payne, for some twelve or fifteen years, the leader of his brethren. His style is more noted for its soundness and solidity than for elegance or classical taste.

Charles Lewis is highly eulogised by Dr. Dibdin, as a "true disciple of the school of Roger Payne. Some may think the scholar has eclipsed the master. The particular talent of Lewis consists in the taste of Roger Payne, with a freedom of forwarding and squareness of finishing peculiarly his own. His joints (I should say the joints of his books, for his own are somewhat clumsy) are beautifully squared, and wrought upon with studded gold, and in his inside decorations he stands without compeer."

Tree calf was the specialty of Riviere and Clarke.

Hayday is another great name in the annals of book-binding. One of his bindings,\* a very chef d'œuvre, is a book in an English library, Blakeways "Sheriffs of Shropshire."

Mr. F. Bedford, of London, is the first English binder of our time. We have always found his work exceedingly satisfactory, especially in regard to the quality and strength of his material. For delicacy and refinement of tooling our preference is for the Parisian artists, as Lortic, Hardy Mennil, David. New York boasts a binder of no mean talents, Mr. Mathews, formerly of London. His amateur work requires a personal supervision, which precludes his performing the amount of work which the dilettanti of this country would be happy to give him. It is a favor to obtain his attention, and he declines to extend the number of his favorites. The binding of Messrs. J. M. Bradstreet & Son, (also of New York,) merits most favorable mention. It is however, an unfortunate fact that the cost of securing and maintaining the talent, and employing the time and genius for superintending and directing the operations of elegant binding, render it by no means so remunerative as turning out slop work, slovenly calf gilt backs, and stamped mutton morocco.

\*\* The binding is of blood-coloured morocco, extending an inch and a half all round the inside of the cover, on which is placed a bold but open border toolled in gold, forming a fine relief to the rest of the inside, which is in purple, elegantly worked all over in hexagons running into each other in the Venetian style. In each compartment is placed the lion rampant and fleur-de-lis alternately. The fly-leaves are of vellum, ornamented with two narrow gold lines, and the edges are toolled. The back consists of hexagons, inlaid with purple, containing the lion and fleur-de-lis aforesaid, but somewhat smaller than those in the interior. The design on the outside is a triumphal arch, occupying the entire side, highly enriched, with its cornices, mouldings, &c., executed in suitable small ornamental work; from its columns, (which are wreathed with laurel,) and other parts of the structure, are suspended the shields of the Sheriffs, seventy in number, the quarterings of which, with their frets, bends, &c., are curiously inlaid in different colours of morocco, and, with the ornamental parts of the bearing, have been blazoned with heraldic accuracy on both sides of the volume. When we state that more than 57,000 impressions of tools have been required to produce this wonderful exemplar of ingenuity and skill, some idea may be formed of the time and labour necessary for its execution."



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## NOTES AND QUERIES.

## IN THE COLLECTION OF COL. T. BAILEY MYERS.

In compliance with your request, I send for the Bibliopolist, copies of a very interesting letter of Franklin's daughter, Mrs. Sarah Bache, and one of her husband's, both to him. Yours truly, T. B. M.

PHILADELPHIA, Jan'y 17, 1779.

DEAR & HONOURED PAPA

I did myself the pleasure of writing a long letter to you very lately, but am afraid it is taken as I believe many of yours are. I am unwilling to think you neglect us, tho' Mr. Ingersoll's coming from France without letters from you has given me great uneasiness, he lodged too in the same house with little Ben, and not a line from him. I hope soon however to be made happy with letters from you all. the present you sent me this month two years I received a few weeks ago, tir a prize indeed, it came open without direction or letter and has come through three or four hands. I have receiv'd 6 pair of Gloves nine papers of needles, a Bundle of Thread and five papers of pins. I beg of you or Temple remember what was sent you will let me know, the last person to whose care they were given left them at a hair dressers with directions not to send them to me till he was gone, their being all opened makes me suspect I have not all, what I have receiv'd has made me rich. I thought them long ago in the Enemies hand. the Prices of every thing here is so much raised, that it takes a fortune to feed a Family in a very plain way, a pair of Gloves 7 dollars one yard of Common Gause 24 dollars, and there never was so much dressing and pleasure going on, old Friends meeting again, the Wigs in high Spirits, and strangers of distinction among us. I have taken the liberty of sending a small list to you by Coll. Crenis. Mr. Bache has sent Bills to Jonathan Williams for many things for me and the Family, but I have had some other little wants since that time. the Minister was kind enough to offer me some fine white flannel, and has spared me eight yards I wish to have it in my power to return as good to him, which I beg you will enable me to do. I shall have great pride in wearing anything you send and shewing it as my Father's taste. I have dined at the Minister's spent and evening at Mr. Holkers, have lately been several times invited abroad with the General and Mrs. Washington. he always enquires after you in the most affectionate manner and speaks of you highly we danced at Mr Powels your Birth day or night I should say in company together and he told me it was the anniversary of His marriage it was just twenty years that night, My Boy and Girl are in health the latter has ten teeth, can dance sing and make faces tho' she cannot talk, except the word no, and be done which she makes good use of, she is ben over again except a larger mouth, how happy I should be to see her seated on your knee, she is just such a play thing as Will was when you came home last. I must tell you a little

anecdote of him, and ask your opinion of it is not time to teach him a little religion. he had heard a foolish Girl that lived with me say that there was a death watch in the room, and one of the Family would soon die, he had not been long in bed before he came down in his shirt screaming. I soon sent him up, and asking him in the morning how he could behave so and what was the matter, he told me he thought death was coming. I was so frightened says he that I sweat all over and I jumped out of Bed and pray'd up to Hercules. I asked him what he said, down he went on his knees with uplifted hands, I think I never saw such picture of devotion, and repeated the lord's prayer, now wether tis best to instruct him in a little religion or let him pray a little longer to Hercules, I should be glad to have your opinion—Mr Duffields Family desired when I wrote to remember them to you, the youngest daughter I have introduced this winter to the Assembly she is like the mother, the Ambassador told me he thought her a great acquisition to the Assembly, they lodge with us when in Town. I have a piece of American silk which I shall send to you for the Queen, it will make me happy if she condescends to wear it. it shall come by the first safe opportunity. I shewed it to M. Gerard, whose opinion was that it would be acceptable. I wish much that he had brought his Lady with him. I should be tempted to learn French if she was among us. he is very much beloved here, I feel a veneration for him mixed with so much affection that when he was confined by indisposition I went uninvited with Mr. Bache to see him. Mr. B. wrote to you this morning my Brother was well at N. York about a week ago if Coll. Crenis does not go away early I will write to Temple this is all the paper I have and it is Sunday. remember me to dear Ben I long for another little French Letter.

I am my dear sir

with great Affection

your Dutiful Daughter

S. Bache.

Address. His Excellency

" Dr. Benjamin Franklin

" Minister Plenipotentiary from the

" United States of No. America at the

" Court of Versailles "

PHILADELPHIA, Nov'r 9th, 1793.

HOTEL DE VAUBAN,

Rue de Richelieu.

Mem<sup>o</sup> by Franklin.

DEAR & HOND: SIR

Permit me to introduce to you Mr. Rucker, who tho' a native of England, has formerly resided in France; and having spent a few months in this country, I have had the pleasure of his acquaintance; and have formed a favorable opinion of him—I wish to recommend him to your notice and Civilities, as a

Gentlemen very deserving of them. I wrote to you and Benny pr. Capt. Barney who sailed this day with a fair wind; I have put on board of him, the seeds, Grafts, Apples & Nuts you wrote for and wish them

—  
I am ever, Dear Sir  
your affectionate  
Son Rich: Bache

Dr Franklin

Address.

“	His Excellency
“	Dr. Benjamin Franklin
“	at Passy
“	Favored by
“	Mr. Rucker. “

*Mrs. Hogg*, widow of the Ettrick Shepherd, died at Linlithgow, on Tuesday last, aged about eighty. The deceased lady had been thirty-five years a widow, her husband, the Ettrick Bard, having died on the 21st of November, 1835. For many years Mrs. Hogg subsisted on the profits of her husband's writings, and an annuity of £40 generously granted her by the Duke of Buccleuch. Some fifteen years ago, the Rev. Charles Rogers, a Scottish clergyman, and an admirer of her husband's works, raised several hundred pounds for a monument to the Shepherd, which has been erected at St. Mary's Loch, in Yarrow, and about the same time procured, through the intervention of Lord Dalhousie and others, a Civil List pension for his widow. Mrs. Hogg has for many years resided at Linlithgow, where she was much esteemed. The poet's family, it is said, are well provided for.

*Obituary.*—All the lovers of *Black Letter* volumes will sincerely lament the death of their old friend, JOSEPH LILLY, of London. His death is a loss in more senses than one. It is believed his stock is to be sold. If this is the case, and the business to be discontinued, we shall have seen the last of the many interesting and instructive catalogues which have issued under his name. His absence is already felt in the auction rooms. The other day an antiquarian volume was going cheap, when some one said: "If old Joseph Lilly were here, he couldn't bear to see that book go so low."

*On a hot summer's day, years ago, (when "Boz" was in his bloom) our old friend (is he not every one's friend?) GEORGE CRUIKSHANK was busily engaged upon a plate for Oliver Twist. Somehow or other he was*

sorely puzzled for a portrait of *Fagan the Jew*. How should he draw a face that the reader would recognize? The warm drops oozed from his brow, and George's genius for a moment faltered. But for a moment, thanks to these warm drops! He seized his ready handkerchief to dash them away, when in the movement, he caught instantaneously his own portrait in the opposite mirror, and an inspiration of the face of the immortal *Fagan*. This is the story of an old London bookseller, who firmly believes that the portrait of *Fagan* is, accordingly, nothing else than a caricature of the artist himself. Our readers must verify this supposition for themselves. The best and most authentic portrait of Cruikshank is by himself in his *Table Book*.

Another story of "an old London bookseller," is the following about MACAULAY and DYCE. "I knew Dyce and Macaulay well. Both were great book buying men. But a greater difference in their way of buying couldn't be possible. Macaulay never wasted words or time. His favorite plan was to have a lot of books spread out on a table beforehand. Then he would sit down and run through them in a wonderfully short time, laying aside such books as he wanted, which he would order home. Sometimes he would drop a line: "Lay out some books for me, I will call this P. M." He would come in, and in ten or twenty minutes select probably a hundred volumes. Dyce was just the opposite. Sometimes he would linger about the shelves half a day, and then go away with one or two volumes, rarely more, and often without anything at all. On these last occasions he would remark: "I do not see anything to-day, Mr. —; but will call again very soon,"—much to the "consternation" of the "old London bookseller," it is added.

Our readers must not criticise too severely the details of these "stories," of which there will be more forthcoming, when we have the space.

*Five journals* were published in Metz during the siege, and extravagant prices are asked for sets. For the *Impartial 40f.* is demanded, and for its little half sheet, with black border, containing the capitulation, 15f.

*Obituary.*—It is our painful duty to record the death of our friend, neighbour, and fellow-bookseller, Mr. Wm. Gowans. He died Sunday, Nov. 27, from the effects of an apoplectic stroke, which left him senseless on the sidewalk, on the evening of Nov. 23. A want of space prevents our printing in this issue the extended notice due to his prominence as a bookseller, the peculiarities of the man, and the events of his life. In the next issue of the BIBLIOPOLIST we shall present our tribute of remembrance.

*The Library of Strasburg.*—The accounts hitherto received represent the destruction of this invaluable library as total; but now that the fortress has surrendered, more detailed and it is to be hoped, more consolatory intelligence will be communicated to the world of letters. In the mean time it may prove of interest to place on record in "N. & Q." some details of the contents of the library as drawn up by a former librarian, M. Schweighauser, whose name is so well known to scholars by his editions of Herodotus, Polybius, Athenaeus, Appian, &c. The library was commenced in 1765 by Schoepflin, the author of *Alsatia Diplomatica* and *Alsatia Illustrata*, who presented the city with his own library, consisting of nearly eleven thousand volumes, together with his collection of medals and antiquities, chiefly formed in Italy, on condition of receiving a small yearly allowance during his lifetime. The library was afterward considerably augmented after the Revolution by the suppression of the religious establishments and the confiscation of the property of emigrants. At the time when Schweighauser published his account of the library (which must have been after 1806, when he was appointed to the post of librarian, and he died in 1830), the library consisted of 180,000 volumes, not including the manuscripts. There were, besides, two thousand works printed in the fifteenth century. The MSS. amounted to 12,000 volumes, which were chiefly obtained from the old Commandery of the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem. Another important manuscript collection, for which the library was indebted to Schoepflin, consisted of a series of chronicles and other records relating to the history and political constitution of Alsace. A detailed catalogue of Schoepflin's

library, in 4 vols folio, is placed among the archives of the city of Strasburg.

Silbermann's *Notices Manuscrites* contain many very curious details respecting numerous localities in Alsace, with pen and ink sketches.

The gem of the library is the *Hortus Deliciarum* of the Abbess Herrade de Landsberg, a large folio MS. of the twelfth century, ornamented in almost every page with extremely curious miniatures. An account of this MS. was given by M. A. Le Noble in the first volume of *L'Ecole des Chartes*.

Among the MSS. are also to be found the celebrated depositions of the witnesses in the lawsuit between Gutenberg and the brother of his associate Ditzohn—a minute of the "Grand Conseil," 1439.

It is not very clear, from Schweighauser's account, whether the library of the former university (founded in 1621 by the Emperor Ferdinand II.) was contained or not in the library now destroyed. Many of the books were printed by Fust, Sheffer, and Mentelin, and several of them, perhaps, by Gutenberg. The earliest-printed German Bible, by Mentelin, without date, in folio, is among them.

JOHN MACRAY.

[We may as well append to the interesting communication of our valued correspondent the account of the destruction of this library inserted in *The Times* of Oct. 8, and 12:—"Strasburg surrendered on the self-same day on which, 189 years before, by fraud and treachery, Louis XIV. became its master. One of his first acts was to dislodge the Protestants from the Cathedral, which they had occupied from the period of the Reformation. The Dominican church, which had long been secularized, was allotted to them in lieu, and had its name changed to that of Le Temple Neuf. Here was one of the most famous organs of Silbermann. In the choir, divided from the nave, was lodged the special glory of Alsace—its library, the finest on the Rhine, in which the archives antiquities, topography, and early printing collections were treasured. All have perished. Since the apocryphal burning of the Library of Alexandria, perhaps no equally irreparable loss has occurred. The walls are standing; all else is a mass of ruins. In the entrance vestibule was a collection of Gallo-Roman antiquities, altars, inscriptions, bas-reliefs, statuary; a few of these may be restored. A stone cut into the wall in which was cut a head of Louis XVI., and a notice that it had been taken from the cachots of the Bastille, had a portion destroyed. In the interior of the choir nothing was visible but heaps of ruin and charred paper. I picked up some fragments, on which the old Aldine and early German types were still legible. In the nave of the church the vaulted roofing had fallen to the ground in a huge mountain of ruins;

everything had perished save the old monuments let into the walls, that of Tauler, the mystic preacher, being the most interesting. The utter destruction of this library seemed to me so incredible that I have yesterday and to-day repeatedly put the question, "Was nothing saved? 'Pas une feuille' was the energetic reply from the chief bookseller of Strasburg. Not a single leaf. There was a fatality about the library. No catalogue of its many treasures exists. An elaborate one in MS. had been prepared by the librarian. It has perished. M. Silbermann, publisher of the *Courrier du Bas-Rhin*, tells me that a whole library of MS. of his grand work, the *Alsace Antiquary*, has perished, among them sixteen folio vols. of MS. upon Strasburg. Greatest loss of all is that of the most precious record connected with the discovery of printing—the documents of the legal process of Guttenburg against the heirs of his partner Dreisehn, to establish his right as the inventor of typography. The Bibliothèque lies exactly parallel with the Cathedral, about 200 yards north of it."

"On the 23d and 24th of September the horrors of the bombardment culminated. At 8 o'clock on the night of the latter, the great fabric of the Temple Neuf, which housed the Strasburg Bibliothèque, a library famed for its treasures throughout Europe, together with the Museum of Paintings in the Place Kleber, was on fire; the destruction was complete in both cases. Next morning not a leaf, a parchment scroll, a solitary fragment of its unique manuscripts were visible in the Bibliothèque; the floor was encumbered with piles of charred débris, in which two carbonized bindings only were discernible. It is impossible to acquit the Municipality of Strasburg of the discredit which attaches to them for the disappearance of these collections. They had had ten days disastrous experience of the bombardment, and the fullest warning of the ravages it might occasion. The Natural History Museum was now hurriedly deposited in the cellars of the Academy."—[Ed.]

*Dr. Johnson.*—As every scrap of information concerning Dr. Johnson has always been considered worth preserving, the following personal criticism may be of use to future readers of "N. & Q." It will serve as an antidote to the many fulsome panegyrics that have been recorded:

"Tuesday (April 1775), Dr. Johnson, his fellow-traveller through the Scotch Western Isles, Mr. Boswell, and Sir Joshua Reynolds dined here: I have long wished to be in company with this said Johnson: his conversation is the same as his writing, but a dreadful voice and manner. He is certainly amusing as a novelty, but seems not possessed of any benevolence, is beyond all description awkward, and more beastly in his dress and person than anything I ever beheld. He feeds nastily and ferociously, and eats quantities most unthankfully. As to Boswell, he appears a low-bred kind of being."—*Letters of the First Earl of Malmesbury, &c.* (1870) i. 303.

CHARLES WYLIE.

*Possum up a Gum-tree.*—This has been suggested as Australian, but the refrain used to run—

"Possum up a gum-tree,  
Tinkling none can follow;  
Den he dam mistaken,  
Nigger beat him hollow."

The word "nigger" shows that it is of American rather than Australian origin.

J. WILKINS, B.C.L.

*The Siege of Metz.*—It is perhaps not generally known that Metz was once besieged by King Arthur. It was defended by the Duke of Lorraine; some of whose men complained that he had defrauded them of their pay, and urged him to treat for peace. The duke refused, and charged Arthur's knights upon a dromedary. Arthur's knights assaulted the city, throwing down stone steeples and most of the inns. At last the city surrendered, and Arthur (to quote Mr. Perry's words) "provides for the government of Lorraine, which he had conquered." See the long account in *Morte Arthure* (ed. Perry, 1865, for the early English Text Society), pp. 71-91. The whole passage is very curious.

WALTER W. SKEAT.  
1, Cintra Terrace, Cambridge.

*Historic Chairs.*—It is not long since a worthy follower of the art which Walton loved, secured for a comparatively low price the chair which had belonged to him, and in which perhaps worthy Isaac was wont to sit while writing his admirable biographies, and imitable *Angler*. It appears, from the *Birmingham Daily Gazette*, that a like interesting and valuable relic of the greatest actor who ever adorned the British stage is now in possession of Mr. Fred Williams of Saltley, Birmingham. It consists of an antique chair of solid oak, curiously carved, bearing on the border of its back panel the inscription "David Garrick, 1774, Grub Street," and upon the panel itself the Shakspearian motto, "All the world's a stage." A large chair adorned with the name and titles of Sir Godfrey Kneller, carved in somewhat similar fashion, is also in possession of Mr. Williams.

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French "balloon" literature will be sought after, and bring "high" prices some day, when the French bibliophiles can again give their attention to such pursuits. At present it seems more than probable that the conservators of libraries may be of great importance to their famishing countrymen. What an inexhaustible supply of *soup* they could furnish by boiling down the immense quantity of sheepskin, calfskin, and goatskin, not to say hogskin covers of their bibliophilistic treasures.

The following is a transcript of a little modern **Black** and **Red Letter** volume of which the indication of authorship appears in our copy, in addition to the acknowledgement on leaf 4, on the leaf preceding the title, namely, in the autograph of "CAROLUS, HENRICUS, HARTSHORNE," with a presentation inscription in Latin, and the statement of the number of copies printed (20). At this time of the year it is bibliographically seasonable. Each paragraph, as we print it, constitutes a *leaf* in the original. The poem at the end "Carmina Cornucervinia," is, in the original, printed on a folding leaf. It would be difficult to state the exact size of the volume before us. It might be described, perhaps, as a *square* 24mo. Here begynneth ye tylte of ye lytel booke.

A Geyste ffor the Neue Yere: or a playne, pleasaunte, and profytale Pathe-waie to the Black-Lettre Paradyse.

Dedyngayted on a Red Lettre Daic to all braue Boke-buynges Biblyomanes, by a Black Lettre Byblyophyle.

Thys lyttel Treyse contayneth the Qwaynte and Polyte sayinges of Maistre Charls Henry Hartshorne, off Saincte Jhonus Colledge.

What hy sayde vpon a Layde of grete meryte.

Howe by promysede a Boke to a Laide, and greuously forsat it.

Howe hy toke wynne by hymselue, & did not aske a Layde to joyne hym.

Howe hy saide a Layde loked crosse, whyan she was meke as a Lambe.

Howe hy saide hy wold mete soome fayre Ladyis: & was sore afraide, & whant qvte another waie.

Howe whanne a Layde askyd hym to helpe her at dynner, howe hy toke no hede.

These and dyers others dyde he saye,  
whiche are not Emprynted in thys lyttle  
Boke of note, but wych are not forgottyn by  
me,

R. PYNSON.

(blank leaf).

*Crumbes off conceyte to eache Black Lettre Boke-Louers: or, a Rare and Racie Re-paste ffor a real Roxburgher.*

*Here begynneth a seconde Treyse, be-yng the dycetes and gestes off mayster*

CHARLES HARTSHORNE,  
GENT.

*Howe hy drooped bicaws hy cold nat  
fynde 'The towntayn of ffame, erectede yn  
an ercherde off amerovs aduentves.'*

*Howe hy sayde a crakleyng boke dyd  
speke unto hym.*

*Howe, haveyng boghte a godely boke,  
'De Dignoscendis Hominibvs,' emprynted by  
Zarotis, hy dyd moche reioyce.*

*Howe hy sayd a Boke off Groyeres loked  
fayre as a ladie.*

*How the loue ffor a Romaunce, emprynted  
by hys namesayk Cornu Cervinvs, dyde  
posseste hym.*

*Howe he dyd sfynde certayne vnyqve  
Bokes of love and cheualrie.*

EXPLICIT FELICITUR.

*Emprynted ouer the grete Gate-waie off  
Saincte Jhonus Colledge, Cambridge, by  
Westonne Hattfelde, anno MDCCXXV.*

"CARMINA CORNUCERVINIA."

Sum menne yu shoppes often loke  
To fynde an erly prented BOKE.  
Thei liken best, as ich ha  
One by CAXTON or De WORDE.  
Bot thei ben nat auerse ywys,  
To one by PYNSON or TREVERIS,  
And glemmyng besavntes wulle thei page.  
Ffor one by FAGNES JHON DAYE.  
Sum best prouide yf thei han gotte  
A BOKE by SIBERCH, WYER or SKOTT;  
And yf the myrchaunte wole selli yt,  
Thei faylen nat to buye BERTHELLETTE.  
The menne off llawe Tothyll yseke,  
Ffor Cawoodis is nat wurt h a leke:  
RASTELL, and GRAFTON, ben menne of note.  
So ben SERES, WOLFE, PURFOTE,  
And meni ffurst theyr ioye begynne,  
Yn pykyng upp a Walter Llynne,

The entire original excepting the above poem is printed in black and red letter type which adds much to the quaintness of the spelling.

## BOOKS RECEIVED AND MISCELLANEOUS LITERARY ITEMS.

*"I have spoken in a former letter of the voracity of the Germans for maps. I have recently learned that they put maps of an invaded country on a par with arms, and seize the former as quite as dangerous as the latter. As to the fondness of the soldiers just as much as the generals for maps, it is quite comical. There is an unfortunate bookbinder in Versailles who, finding that few persons wanted books re-bound just now, he turned his attention to the kindred occupation of map-mounting. Some half-a-dozen maps are nearly always to be seen hanging up in his window, the property of generals, staff officers, &c., who have sent them to be mounted or repaired. The consequence is that the unfortunate Frenchman is ceaselessly troubled by Prussians of all ranks coming in, anxious to purchase the 'Karten.' In vain the unfortunate bookseller indicates in French and by signs, that he has no maps for sale, and that he cannot dispose of those in his shop: his persecutors pull out their thaler notes, and explain that in this case they had no idea of requisitioning, and that (rare event for a German) money is no object. The poor man has put up two notices to the effect that he has no maps for sale. But his troubles go on, as his notices are in French. Certainly the maps he displays are very tempting, and I noticed a staff-map of Paris and its fortresses, which made me incontinently break that part of the Decalogue which relates to one's neighbour's goods. Why does not some enterprising English publisher get a really good map drawn up, and send an agent out here with it? I can promise he will pay the expenses of his journey, and have something over to go into Paris with when the capitulation comes."*—*Correspondent of P. M. Gazette, at Versailles.*

*The Portfolio.*—An Artistic Periodical, edited by Philip Hamerton, London. Says the *Saturday Review*, "There has not appeared a periodical of so high a class as the *Portfolio*, since the discontinuance of the *Fine Arts Quarterly Review*. The idea is, as the title *Portfolio* seems to imply, to collect and keep compactly within the covers of a monthly journal, materials which, though not

without immediate interest, shall, by their intrinsic worth, claim a permanent place in literature. A paper thus planned may be even too good to be appreciated. The public crave novelty and look for startling announcements. Still there is reason to hope that year by year, the love of art for art's sake, is growing wider and more warm, and certainly the want has been felt of some influential organ which might give expression to the thoughts of the best minds, and publish in forms agreeable to educated tastes, works illustrative of contemporary and historic art."

"The reconstruction of the Strasburg Library is making rapid progress. Besides the united action of the academies and booksellers of all Germany, there are single gifts pouring in of no small value, prompted occasionally by sad enough motives. Thus the well-known scholiarch Landermann, of Coblenz, has offered his own entire library, the result of many years' careful collection, chiefly rich in philology and history, and containing not a few rare works no longer to be had in trade, to the civil commissary Von Kuhlwetter, as a contribution towards the new Strasburg Library. He had hoped, he adds, to leave these books some day to his son (Johannes Landermann, a most promising young historian), that he might use them after him. But he had gone down in the trenches before Metz, and the professor did not know what better purpose these books could serve now than the one he has under the circumstances destined them for."—*Pall Mall Gazette.*

*The Academy* has changed hands, and is now published by Messrs. Williams & Norgates instead of Mr. Murray.

*The American Chemist, for November.*—An article on the source of lead in drinking water, particularly exhibits the danger of lead poisoning, resulting from galvanic action of metals used in ice pitchers. A continuation of Perkins, article on the Aniline or Coal Tar Colors; Chemistry of the Bessemer Process. Lecture on the manufacture of Beet Root Sugar. Animal Charcoal, its use in sugar refining, &c.

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# COLUMBUS: THE Discovery and Naming of America.

[FROM THE LIFE OF PRINCE HENRY OF PORTUGAL.]

BY RICHARD HENRY MAJOR.



T was in Portugal," said Ferdinand Columbus, the son and biographer of the most illustrious navigator that the world has seen,—“it was in Portugal that the admiral began to surmise that, if the Portuguese sailed so far south, one might also sail westward, and find lands in that direction. The period of Christopher Columbus' sojourn in Portugal was from 1470 to the close 1484, during which time he made several voyages to the coast of Guinea in the Portuguese service. While at Lisbon he married Felipa Moñiz de Perestrello, daughter of that Bartholomeu Perestrello to whom Prince Henry had granted the commandership of the island of Porto Santo.

For some time Columbus and his wife lived at Porto Santo with the widow of Perestrello, who, observing the interest he took in nautical matters, spoke much to him of her husband's expeditions, and handed over to him the papers, journals, maps, and nautical instruments which Perestrello had left behind him.\*

\* Las Casas, in his History of the Indies, tells us distinctly that Columbus derived much information from Perestrello's maps and papers, and adds that “in order to acquaint himself practically with the method pursued by the Portuguese in navigating to the coast of Guinea, he sailed several times with them as if he had been one of them.” Las Casas says that he learned this from the admiral's son Diego, adding that “some time before his famous voyage Columbus resided in Madeira, where news of fresh discoveries was constantly arriving, and this,” he says, “appears to have been the occasion of Christopher Columbus coming to Spain, and the beginning of the discovery of this great world (America).”

"It was not only," says Ferdinand Columbus (see *Vida*, cap. 8), "this opinion of certain philosophers, that the greater part of our globe is dry land that stimulated the admiral; he learned also from many pilots, experienced in the western voyages to the Azores and the island of Madeira, facts and signs which convinced him that there was an unknown land towards the west. Martin Vicente, pilot of the King of Portugal, told him that at a distance of four hundred and fifty leagues from Cape St. Vincent, he had taken from the water a piece of wood sculptured very artistically, but not with an iron instrument. This wood had been driven across by the west wind, which made the sailors believe, that certainly there were on that side some islands not yet discovered. Pedro Correa, brother-in-law to the admiral, told him, that near the island of Madeira he had found a similar piece of sculptured wood, and coming from the same western direction. He also said that the King of Portugal had received information of large canes having been taken up from the water in these parts, which between one knot and another would hold nine bottles of wine, and Herrera (Dec. 1, lib. i. cap. 2) declared that the King had preserved these canes, and caused them to be shown to Columbus. The colonists of the Azores related, that when the wind blew from the west, the sea threw up, especially in the islands of Graciosa and Fayal, pines of a foreign species. Others related, that in the island of Flores they found one day on the shore two corpses of men, whose physiognomy and features differed entirely from those of our coasts. Herrera, perhaps from the MSS. of Las Casas, says, that the corpses had broad faces, differing from those of Christians. The transport of these objects was attributed to the action of the west winds. The true cause, however, was the great current of the Gulf, or Florida stream. The west and north-west winds only increase the ordinary rapidity of the ocean current, prolong its action towards the east, as far as the Bay of Biscay, and mix the waters of the Gulf stream with those of the currents of Davis Straits and of North Africa. The same eastward oceanic movement, which in the fifteenth century carried bamboos and pines upon the shores of the Azores and Porto Santo, deposits annually on Ireland, the Hebrides, and Norway, the seeds of tropical plants, and the remains of cargoes of ships which had been wrecked in the West Indies.\*

While availing himself of these sources of information, Columbus studied with deep and careful attention the works of such geographical authors as supplied suggestions of the feasibility of a short western passage to India. Amongst these, the "Imago Mundi" of Cardinal Pierre d'Ailly (Petrus de Aliaco) was his favorite, and it is probable that from it he culled all he knew of the opinions of Aristotle, Strabo, and Seneca, respecting the facility of reaching India by a western route. Columbus' own copy of this work is now in the cathedral of Seville, and forms one of the most precious items in the valuable library, origin-

\* Humboldt, *Examen Critique*, vol. ii. pp. 246-251.

ally collected by his son Ferdinand, and bequeathed to the cathedral on condition of its being constantly preserved for public use. It contains many marginal notes in his own handwriting, but of comparatively little importance.

The fondness of Columbus for the works of Pierre d'Ailly, a Frenchman, has caused a recent French writer, M. Margry, to put forth the empty pretension that the discovery of America was due to the influence of French teaching, whereas, not only was the "Imago Mundi" itself a compilation from ancient authors, but the first edition was not printed till many years after Columbus had devoted himself to the purpose which ended in his great discovery, for his famous correspondence with Toscanelli, of which, I shall presently speak, occurred in 1474. M. Margry, indeed, *asserts*, but without giving his authority, that in the Columbian Library at Seville are D'Ailly's treatises *printed at Nuremberg in 1472*. This is in contravention of all the bibliographers—Panzer, Ebert, Hain, Serna Santander, Lambinet, and Jean de Launoy.

The earliest date assigned to the first edition of the "Imago Mundi," is *about 1480* by Serna Santander, *1483(?)* by Lambinet, while Jean de Launoy, in his "Regii Navarræ Gymnasii Parisiensis Historia," Parisiis, 1677, tom. ii. p. 478, distinctly gives it the date of 1490. Humboldt, who had Columbus' copy in his hands, and who, as the subject was especially his own, cannot be suspected of sleeping over such an important point, adopts De Launoy's date of 1490, while Lambinet gives the queried date of 1483 from actual collation with another work printed in that year, at Louvain, in the very identical type, by John of Westphalia. In the recently published second volume of the "Ensayo de una biblioteca de libros españoles raros," por Don Bartolomé Gallardo, is a list of the books in the Columbian Library, but D'Ailly's "Imago Mundi" is not therein mentioned, although his "Quæstiones," printed much later by Jean Petit at Paris, a far less important book, is inserted. The omission is to be regretted, as we might have hoped for some illustrative comments from the author.

But perhaps it may be suggested that Columbus may have possessed, or seen, a *manuscript* copy of Pierre d'Ailly at a yet earlier period. We will willingly suppose it for the sake of the argument; but even then the reasoning will fail, for I find that the very portion of the "Imago Mundi," written in 1410, which is assumed to have supplied the inspiration for the discovery of America, and which Columbus quoted in his letter to Ferdinand and Isabella from Haiti in 1498, is *taken by Pierre d'Ailly, without acknowledgment, almost word for word, from the "Opus Majus" of Roger Bacon*, written in 1267, a hundred and forty-three years before, as will be seen at page 183 of that work, printed Londini, 1733, fol. See Humboldt, *Examen Critique*, tom. i. p. 64-70.

Unfortunately Roger Bacon was not a Frenchman, but there remains for M. Margry the consolatory fact that no Englishman is likely to avail himself of the circumstance which I have just enunciated, to claim for his countrymen the honor of having inspired Columbus with the idea

which led to the discovery of America, although, by M. Margry's process of reasoning, he might do so if he would. True, Roger Bacon had been a student in the University of Paris; but this fact did not communicate the character of French inspiration to the ancient authors whose statements he quotes. True also (but this is a circumstance either unknown or unnoticed by M. Margry), Ferdinand Columbus tells us that his father was principally influenced in his belief of the smallness of the space between Spain and Asia, by the opinion of the Arab astronomer Al Fergani, or Alfragan, to that effect; and it is further true, that Alfragan is treated of by Pierre d'Ailly, in his "Mapa Mundi." This is a separate work from the "Imago Mundi," although it happens to have been printed with it, at a period which we have shown to be posterior to Columbus' correspondence with Toscanelli, in 1474. It follows, therefore, that either; 1st, the great explorer obtained his knowledge of Alfragan's opinion through one of the Arabo-Latin translations, to which he seems to have had recourse during his cosmographical studies in Portugal and Spain (see Humboldt, *Examen Critique*, tom. i. p. 83), in which case French influence is eliminated; or 2ndly, he derived it from a manuscript of Pierre d'Ailly before 1474, which there is no evidence to show; or 3rdly, he derived it from his printed copy of Pierre d'Ailly, in which case the influence of Alfragan on his mind could not have been primarily suggestive, but only corroborative of conclusions to which he had come several years before that book was printed. And in either of the two latter cases, the information supplied by Alfragan would not become French because adduced by a Frenchman, unless we introduce into serious history a principle analogous to the old conventional English blunder of giving to the toys manufactured in Nuremberg the name of "Dutch toys," because imported through Holland.

The suggestions derived from these works were corroborated by the narratives of Marco Polo and Sir John Mandeville, whose reports of the vast extent of Asia eastward led to the reasonable inference that the westward passage to the eastern confines of that continent could not demand any considerable length of time. The natural inclination of Columbus for nautical enterprise being thus fostered by the works that he studied, and by the animating accounts of recent adventurers, as well as by the glorious prospects which the broad expanse of the unknown world opened up to his view, we find that in the year 1477 his ideas had formed for themselves a determined channel, and his grand project of discovery was established in his mind as a thing to be done, and done by himself. The combined enthusiasm and tenacity of purpose which distinguished his character, caused him to regard his theory, when once formed, as a matter of such undeniable certainty, that no doubts, opposition, or disappointment, could divert him from the pursuit of it.

It so happened that while Columbus was at Lisbon, a correspondence was being carried on between Fernando Martinez, a prebendary of that place, and the learned Paolo Toscanelli of Florence, respecting the

commerce of the Portuguese to the coast of Guinea and the navigation of the ocean to the westward. This came to the knowledge of Columbus, who forthwith despatched by an Italian then at Lisbon a letter to Toscanelli, informing him of his project. He received an answer in Latin, in which, to demonstrate his approbation of the design of Columbus, Toscanelli sent him a chart, the most important features of which were laid down from the descriptions of Marco Polo. The coasts of Asia were drawn at a moderate distance from the opposite coasts of Europe and Africa, and the islands of Cipango, Antilla, &c., of whose riches such astonishing accounts had been given by this traveller, were placed at convenient spaces between the two continents.

While all these exciting accounts must have conspired to fan the flame of his ambition, one of the noblest points in the character of Columbus had to be put to the test by the difficulty of carrying his project into effect. The political position of Portugal, engrossed as it was with its wars with Spain, rendered the thoughts of an application for an expensive fleet of discovery for the time worse than useless, and several years elapsed before a fair opportunity presented itself for making the proposition.

At length, as we have already seen, about the year 1480, Martin Behaim rendered the astrolabe useful for the purposes of navigation, and, shortly afterwards, Columbus submitted to the King of Portugal his proposition of a voyage of discovery westward. The King at first received him discouragingly, but was at length induced to refer the proposition to a council consisting of the great mathematicians and geographers, Roderigo and Josef, and Cazadilla, Bishop of Ceuta, the King's confessor, who treated the question as an extravagant absurdity.

The King, not satisfied with their judgment, then convoked a second council, consisting of a large number of the most learned men in the kingdom; but their deliberations only confirmed the verdict of the first junta, and a general sentence of condemnation was passed upon the proposition. As the King still seemed inclined to make a trial of the scheme of Columbus, some of his councillors, who were enemies of the Genoese, and at the same time loath to offend the King, suggested a plan which suited their own views, but which was as short-sighted as it was dishonest. Their design was to procure from Columbus a detailed account of his plan that it might be submitted to the council, and then, under the false pretext of conveying provisions to the Cape Verde Islands, to despatch a caravel on the voyage of discovery. King João, deviating from his general character for prudence and generosity, yielded to their insidious advice, and their plan was acted upon; but the caravel which was sent out, after keeping on its westward course for some days, encountered a storm, and the crew, possessing none of the lofty motives of Columbus to support their resolution, returned to Lisbon, ridiculing the scheme in excuse of their cowardice. So indignant was Columbus at this unworthy manœuvre, that he resolved to offer his services to

some other country, and, towards the end of 1484, he left Lisbon secretly with his son Diego.

It is not difficult to understand why the King of Portugal should have hesitated to accept the proposition of Columbus. Nearly seventy years of continued effort on the part of the Portuguese to realise the great conception of Prince Henry, afforded substantial proof of their conviction of the soundness of that conception. Many years before Columbus proposed to reach India by the sea, Prince Henry had finished a life which had been spent in aiming at the same result by another route. That route, therefore, though by no means free from great dangers, was identified with their hopes in the future, as well as their predilections in the past. What wonder that they refused to resign a course so hopeful, comparatively so simple, and so essentially their own, in favor of a project replete with danger, and which they regarded as the chimera of a visionary?

The learned and careful Muñoz states his opinion that Columbus went immediately from Portugal to Genoa, and made a personal proposition to that Government, but met with a contemptuous refusal. Great obscurity, however, hangs over his history during the first year after his leaving Portugal, but from calculations based on his own statements, it would seem that it was in 1485 that he made his first application to the court of Spain. It is well known that the lively interest which the worthy prior of the Franciscan convent of Santa Maria de Rabida, Fray Juan Perez de Marchena, took in his guest, and his anticipated influence with his friend Fernando de Talavera, prior of the monastery of Prado, and confessor to the Queen, was the cause that first induced Columbus, in the spring of 1486, to venture to the Spanish court, in the hope of gaining a favorable audience. On reaching Cordova, however, he had the mortification to find that Talavera regarded his design as preposterous. The court was also engrossed with the war at Granada, so that all hope of gaining attention to his novel and expensive proposition was out of the question. At length, at the close of 1486, Mendoza, Archbishop of Toledo, and grand cardinal of Spain, became impressed with the high importance of the scheme as set forth by the earnest and lucid reasoning of Columbus. He adopted his cause, and became his staunch protector and friend. Through his means an audience with the sovereign was procured, and it was resolved to submit the proposition to the judgment of the *literati* of the country. But here again Columbus found himself in a painful predicament. He was to be examined at Salamanca by a council of ecclesiastics, whose ignorance of cosmography and blind conclusions from misinterpreted texts of Scripture stood in strong opposition to his arguments, and he began to find himself in danger of being convicted not only of error, but of heresy. Fortunately, one learned man of the number, Diego de Deza, tutor to Prince Juan, and afterwards Archbishop of Seville, appreciated the lucid arguments of the adventurer, and, aiding him with his own powers of language and erudition, gained for him not only a hearing, but even approval from

some of the most learned of the council. At length, in 1491, after a succession of vexatious delays, Talavera, the chief of the council, was commanded to inform Columbus that the cares and expenses of the war precluded the possibility of their Highnesses engaging in any new enterprises, but that, when it was concluded, there would be both the will and the opportunity to consider the subject further. Regarding this as nothing better than a courteous evasion of his application, Columbus retired, wearied and disappointed, from the court; and were it not that an attachment which he had formed at Cordova made him reluctant to leave Spain, it is probable that he would have gone to France, under the inducement of an inviting letter from that quarter.

The interval, till 1492, was spent in a succession of appeals to the Spanish court, and in contending against all the vexatious variety of obstacles that ignorance, envy, or a pusillanimous economy could suggest.

At length, having overcome all obstacles, he set sail with a fleet of three ships on the 3rd of August, 1492, on his unprecedented and perilous voyage. The ordinary difficulties which might be expected to occur in so novel and precarious an adventure were seriously aggravated by the alarming discovery of the variation of the needle, as well as by the mutinous behavior of his crew; and his life was upon the point of being sacrificed to their impatience, when the fortunate appearance of land, on the morning of the 12th October, converted their indignation into compunction, and their despondency into unbounded joy.

In this first voyage the discovery was made of the islands of St. Salvador, Santa Maria de la Concepcion, Exuma, Isabella, Cuba, Bohio, the Archipelago off the south coast of Cuba, called by Columbus the Jardin del Rey, or King's Garden, the islands of St. Catherine and Hispaniola. On this latter Columbus erected the fortress of La Navidad, and established a colony. He set sail on his return voyage on the 16th January 1493, and, after suffering severely from a storm, and a wearisome struggle with the trade winds, reached the island of St. Mary's on the 18th of February. Scarcely had he and his tempest-tost crew commenced their thanksgivings for their safe return to the abode of civilized men, when the governor of the island, acting under the general orders of the King of Portugal, surrounded them and took them all prisoners. This reception of the admiral, on his return to the old world, is well described by Washington Irving, as an earnest of the crosses and troubles with which he was to be requited through life for one of the greatest benefits that ever man had conferred upon his fellow-beings. He was at length liberated, with an apology, invited to the court, and received most graciously by the King and Queen, but not without evident manifestations of jealousy and chagrin on the part of some of the courtiers, and propositions to take away his life. The magnanimity of the King prevented this injustice, and, leaving Portugal in safety, on the 13th of March, Columbus arrived on the 15th, at the little port of

Palos, from whence he had sailed on the 3rd of August in the preceding year. His reception in Spain was such as the grandeur and dignity of his unrivalled achievement deserved, and his entrance into Barcelona was scarcely inferior to a Roman triumph.

The description of his voyage, which he had addressed to the Spanish sovereigns through their treasurer, caused so much excitement, that numerous editions of it were issued in the same year (1493) from the various great printing cities of Europe; and the narrative, embodied in *ottava rima* by the Florentine poet, Giuliano Dati, was sung about the streets, to announce to the Italians the astounding news of the discovery of a new world.\*

It is not my duty here to lead the reader through details of the explorations made by Columbus in his four voyages. It has been my purpose to show the correctness of my assertion in the first chapter, that "while this vast achievement of Columbus was the link that united the old world with the new, the explorations instituted by Prince Henry of Portugal were, in truth, the anvil on which that link was forged." It was an event in which all humanity was concerned, but one which was recompensed with the basest ingratitude even from those most closely and beneficially interested in it.

The seductive adulation of the court and the people shown for the moment to Columbus, did not divert his thoughts from the preparations for a second expedition. A stay of six months sufficed to make all ready for this purpose, during which period a papal bull was obtained which fixed the famous line of demarcation, determining the right of the Spanish and Portuguese to discover lands; which line was drawn from the north to the south pole, at a hundred leagues west of the Azores and Cape de Verde Islands; the discoveries to the westward were to belong to Spain, and those to the eastward to Portugal. It may be well here to remark that the success of Columbus in obtaining a second armament gave rise to a malignant feeling towards him on the part of Juan Rodriguez Fonseca, Bishop of Badajos, who had treated him as a visionary, which eventually led to such disgraceful ill-usage of the admiral, as will remain a stain upon the character of Spain while the name of Columbus exists in the memory of man.

On the 25th of September, 1493, Columbus sailed westward, taking his departure from Cadiz with a fleet of three large ships of heavy burthen, and fourteen caravels, and, after a pleasant voyage, reached the island of Dominica on the 2nd of November. In this voyage he discovered the Caribbee Islands, Jamaica, an archipelago named by Columbus the Queen's Gardens, and supposed to be the Morant Keys, Evangelista, or the Isle of Pines, and the island of Mona.

He sailed with his fleet, finally, for Spain, on the 28th of April, 1496,

\* Believing at the time that the copy of this extremely scarce and curious poem, then recently purchased by the British Museum, was unique, I reprinted it as an appendix to the Introduction to my "Select Letters of Columbus," printed for the Hakluyt Society in 1847.

and, after working his way for nearly two months against the whole current of the trade winds, during which provisions became so reduced that there was talk of killing, and even eating, the Indian prisoners, he reached the Bay of Cadiz on the 11th of June. The emaciated state of the crew when they disembarked, presenting so mournful a contrast with the joyous and triumphant appearance which they were expected to make, produced a very discouraging impression upon the opinions of the public, and reflected a corresponding depression upon the spirits of Columbus himself. He was reassured, however, by the receipt of a gracious letter from the sovereigns inviting him to the court; a letter the more gratifying to him that he had feared he was fallen into disgrace. He was received with distinguished favor, and had a verbal concession of his request to be furnished with eight ships for a third voyage. He was doomed, however, to have his patience severely tried by the delay which occurred in the performance of this promise, which was partly attributable to the engrossing character of the public events of the day, and partly to the machinations of his inveterate enemy, the Bishop Fonseca.

It was not till the 30th of May, 1498, that he set sail from San Lucar, with six of the eight vessels promised, the other two having been despatched to Hispaniola with provisions in the beginning of the year. When off Ferro, he despatched three of his six vessels to the same island, with a store of fresh supplies for the colony, while with his remaining three he steered for the Cape Verde Islands, which he reached on the 27th of June. On the 5th of July, he left Boavista, and proceeded southward and westward. In the course of this voyage the crews suffered intensely from the heat, having at one time reached the fifth degree of north latitude, but, at length, land was descried on the 31st of July—a most providential occurrence, as but one cask of water remained in the ship. The island they came to formed an addition to his discoveries; and as the first land which appeared consisted of three mountains, united at their base, he christened the island, from the name of the Trinity, La Trinidad. It was in this voyage that he discovered Terra Firma, and the islands of Margarita and Cubagua. On reaching Hispaniola, to which he was drawn by his anxiety, on account of the infant colony, he had the mortification to find that his authority had suffered considerable diminution, and that the colony was in a state of organized rebellion. He had scarcely, by his active, and, at the same time, politic conduct, brought matters to a state of comparative tranquillity, when a new storm gathered round him from the quarter of the Spanish court. The hatred of his ancient enemies availed itself of the clamor raised against him by some of the rebels who had recently returned to Spain, and charges of tyranny, cruelty, and ambition were heaped unsparingly upon him. The King and Queen, wearied with reiterated complaints, at length resolved to send a judge to inquire into his conduct—injudiciously authorizing him to seize the governorship in the place of Columbus, should the accusations brought against him

prove to be valid. The person chosen was Don Francisco de Bobadilla, whose character and qualifications for the office are best demonstrated by the fact, that, on the day after his arrival in Hispaniola, he seized upon the government before he had investigated the conduct of Columbus, who was then absent; he also took up his residence in his house, and took possession of all his property, public and private, even to his most secret papers. A summons to appear before the new governor was despatched to Columbus, who was at Fort Concepcion; and in the interval between the despatch of the summons and his arrival, his brother (Don Diego) was seized, thrown into irons, and confined on board of a caravel, without any reason being assigned for his imprisonment. No sooner did the admiral himself arrive, than he likewise was put in chains, and thrown into confinement. The habitual reverence due to his venerable person and exalted character, made each bystander shrink from the task of fixing the fetters on him, till one of his own domestics, described by Las Casas as "a graceless and shameless cook," filled up the measure of ingratitude that he seemed doomed to experience, by riveting the irons, not merely without compunction, but with alacrity. In this shackled condition he was conveyed, in the early part of October, from prison to the ship that was to convey him home; and when Andreas Martin, the master of the caravel, touched with respect for the years and great merit of Columbus, and deeply moved at this unworthy treatment, proposed to take off his irons, he declined the offered benefit, with the following magnanimous reply: "Since the King has commanded that I should obey his governor, he shall find me as obedient to this, as I have been to all his other orders; nothing but his command shall release me. If twelve years' hardship and fatigue; if continual dangers and frequent famine; if the ocean first opened, and five times passed and repassed, to add a new world, abounding with wealth, to the Spanish monarchy; and if an infirm and premature old age, brought on by these services, deserve these chains as a reward, it is very fit I should wear them to Spain, and keep them by me as memorials to the end of my life." This, in truth, he did, for he always kept them hung on the walls of his chamber, and desired that when he died they might be buried with him.

His arrival in Spain in this painful and degraded condition produced so general a sensation of indignation and astonishment, that a warm manifestation in his favor was the immediate consequence. A letter, written by him to Doña Juana de la Torre, a lady of the court, detailing the wrongs he had suffered, was read to Queen Isabella, whose generous mind was filled with sympathy and indignation at the recital. The sovereigns immediately commanded that he should be set at liberty, and ordered two thousand ducats to be advanced for the purpose of bringing him to court with all distinction and an honorable retinue. His reception at the Alhambra was gracious and flattering in the highest degree; the strongest indignation was expressed against Bobadilla, with an assurance that he should be immediately dismissed from his command, while

ample restitution and rewards were promised to Columbus, and he had every sanction for indulging the fondest hopes of returning in honor and triumph to St. Domingo. But here a grievous disappointment awaited him; his re-appointment was postponed from time to time, with various plausible excuses. Though Bobadilla was dismissed, it was deemed desirable to refill his place for two years, by some prudent and talented officer, who should be able to put a stop to all remaining faction in the colony, and thus prepare the way for Columbus to enjoy the rights and dignities of his government both peacefully and beneficially to the crown.

The newly selected governor was Nicolas de Ovando, who, though described by Las Casas as a man of prudence, justice, and humanity, certainly betrayed a want both of generosity and justice in his subsequent transactions with Columbus. It is possible that the delay manifested by the sovereigns in redeeming their promise might have continued until the death of Columbus, had not a fresh stimulant to the cupidity of Ferdinand been suggested by a new project of discovering a strait, of the existence of which Columbus felt persuaded, from his own observations, and which would connect the New World which he had discovered with the wealthy shores of the East. His enthusiasm on the subject was heightened by an emulous consideration of the recent achievements of Vasco de Gama and Cabral, the former of whom had, in 1497, found a maritime passage to India by the Cape, and the latter, in 1500, had discovered, for Portugal, the vast and opulent empire of Brazil. The prospect of a more direct and safe route to India than that discovered by De Gama, at length gained Columbus the accomplishment of his wish for another armament; and, finally, on the 9th of May, 1502, he sailed from Cadiz on his fourth and last voyage of discovery.

It is painful to read the description given of the splendor of the fleet with which Ovando left Spain to assume the government of Hispaniola, and to contrast it with the slender and inexpensive armament granted to Columbus for the purpose of exploring an unknown strait into an unknown ocean, the traversing of whose unmeasured breadth would complete the circumnavigation of the globe. Ovando's fleet consisted of thirty sail, five of them from ninety to one hundred and fifty tons burthen, twenty-four caravels of from thirty to ninety tons, and one bark of twenty-five tons; and the number of souls amounted to about two thousand five hundred. The heroic and injured man, to whose unparalleled combination of noble qualities the very dignity which called for all this state was indebted for its existence, had now, in the decline of his years and strength, and stripped both of honor and emolument, to venture forth with four caravels—the largest of seventy, and the smallest of fifty tons burthen—accompanied by one hundred and fifty men, on one of the most toilsome and perilous enterprises of which the mind can form a conception.

On the 20th of May, he reached the Grand Canary, and starting from thence on the 25th, took his departure for the west. Favored by

the trade winds, he made a gentle and easy passage, and reached one of the Caribbee Islands, called by the natives Mantinino (in all probability Martinique), on the 15th of June. After staying three days at this island, he steered northwards, touched at Dominica, and from thence directed his course, contrary to his own original intention and the commands of the sovereigns, to St. Domingo. His reason was, that his principal vessel sailed so ill as to delay the progress of the fleet, which he feared might be an obstacle to the safety and success of the enterprise, and held this as a sufficient motive for infringing the orders he had received. On his arrival at San Domingo, he found the ships which had brought out Ovando ready to put to sea on their return to Spain. He immediately sent to the governor to explain that his intention in calling at the island was to procure a vessel in exchange for one of his caravels, which was very defective, and further begged permission for his squadron to take shelter in the harbor from a hurricane, which, from his acquaintance with the prognostics of the weather, he had foreseen was rapidly approaching. This request was ungraciously refused; upon which Columbus, though denied shelter for himself, endeavored to avert the danger of the fleet, which was about to sail, and sent back immediately to the governor to entreat that he would not allow it to put to sea for some days. His predictions and requests were treated with equal contempt, and Columbus had not only to suffer these insulting refusals and the risk of life for himself and squadron, but the loud murmurings of his own crew that they had sailed with a commander whose position exposed them to such treatment. All that he could do was to draw his ships up as close as possible to the shore, and seek the surest anchorage that chance might present him with. Meanwhile the weather appeared fair and tranquil, and the fleet of Bobadilla put boldly out to sea. The predicted storm came on the next night with terrific fury, and all the ships belonging to the governor's fleet, with the exception of one, were either lost, or put back to San Domingo in a shattered condition. The only vessel that escaped was the one which had been freighted with some four thousand gold pieces, rescued from the pillage of Columbus's fortune. Bobadilla, Roldan, and a number of the most inveterate enemies of the admiral, perished in this tremendous hurricane, while his own fleet, though separated and considerably damaged by the storm, all arrived safe at last at Port Hermoso, to the west of San Domingo. He repaired his vessels at Port Hermoso, but had scarcely left the harbor before another storm drove him into Port Brazil. But we must not follow him through the remainder of this unhappy voyage, the toils and perils of which were aggravated to Columbus by extreme bodily suffering, and which closes by his reaching Jamaica, where he would in all probability have perished, but for the activity and zeal of the faithful and devoted Diego Mendez.\*

\* The highly interesting description of that brave man's exploits on behalf of Columbus, has been quoted by Navarrete from his will, and is translated in my "Select Letters of Columbus," printed for the Hakluyt Society, 1847

When at length, through the agency of Mendez, two ships arrived from Hispaniola to the assistance of the admiral, he was enabled, on the 28th of June, 1504, to leave his wrecked vessels behind him, and start, with revived hopes, for San Domingo, which he reached on the 13th of August.

On the 12th of September, 1504, he set sail for Spain; the same tempestuous weather, which had all along tended to make this his last voyage the most disastrous, did not forsake him now. The ship in which he came home sprung her mainmast in four places in one tempest, and in a subsequent storm the foremast was sprung, and, finally, on the 7th of November, he arrived, in a vessel as shattered as his own broken and care-worn frame, in the welcome harbor of San Lucar.

It is impossible to read, without the deepest sympathy, the occasional murmurings and half-suppressed complaints which are uttered in the course of the veteran navigator's touching letter to the sovereigns describing this voyage. These murmurings and complaints were wrung from the manly spirit of Columbus by sickness and sorrow, and, though reduced almost to the brink of despair by the injustice of the King, yet do we find nothing harsh or disrespectful in his language to the sovereign. A curious contrast is presented to us. The gift of a world could not move the monarch to gratitude; the infliction of chains, as a recompense for that gift, could not provoke the subject to disloyalty. The same great heart which, through more than twenty wearisome years of disappointment and chagrin, gave him strength to beg and to buffet his way to glory, still taught him to bear with majestic meekness the conversion of that glory into unmerited shame.

The two years which intervened between this period and his death, present a picture of black ingratitude on the part of the crown to this distinguished benefactor of the kingdom, which it is truly painful to contemplate. We behold an extraordinary man, the discoverer of a second hemisphere, reduced by his very success to so low a state of poverty that in his prematurely infirm old age he is compelled to subsist by borrowing, and to plead, in the apologetic language of a culprit, for the rights of which the very sovereign whom he has benefited has deprived him. The death of the benignant and high-minded Isabella, in 1505, gave a finishing blow to his hope of obtaining redress, and we find him thus writing, subsequently to this period, to his old and faithful friend, Diego de Deza: "It appears that His Majesty does not think fit to fulfil that which he, with the Queen, who is now in glory, promised me by word and seal. For me to contend for the contrary, would be to contend with the wind. I have done all that I could do; I leave the rest to God, whom I have ever found propitious to me in my necessities." The selfish and cold-hearted Ferdinand beheld his illustrious and loyal servant sink, without relief, under bodily infirmity, and the paralysing sickness of hope deferred; and, at length, on the 20th of May, 1506, the generous heart which had done so much with

out reward, and suffered so much without upbraiding, found rest in a world where neither gratitude nor justice is either asked or withheld.

His body was, in the first instance, buried at Valladolid, in the parish church of Santa Maria de la Antigua, but was transferred, in 1513, to the Cartuja de las Cuevas, near Seville, where a monument was erected over his grave with the memorable inscription:

“A CASTILLA Y A LEON.  
NUEVO MUNDO DIÓ COLON.”

In the year 1536, both his body, and that of his son Diego, who had been likewise buried in the Cartuja, were transported to St. Domingo, and deposited in the cathedral of that city. From hence they were removed to Havanna, in 1795, on the cession of Hispaniola to the French, and the ashes of the immortal discoverer now quietly repose in the cathedral church of that city. A tardy tribute has been at length paid to his memory by his fellow-citizens of Genoa, and the first stone of a monument in commemoration of his achievements was laid in that city on the 27th of September, 1846.

[TO BE CONTINUED.]



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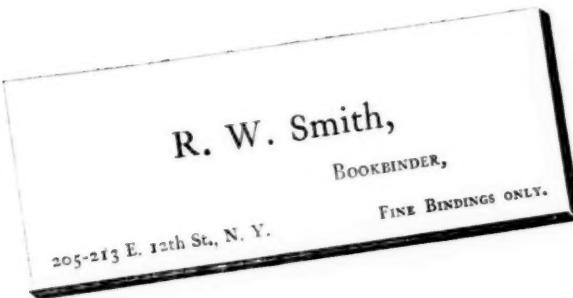
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